

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02160 252025Z

60

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 122358

O 251815Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3867

S E C R E T LUSAKA 2160

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: IMGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, WA

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH KAUNDA IN LUSAKA

1. WE FOLLOWED THE TALKING POINTS CLOSELY IN OUTLINING THE CURRENT SITUATION TO KAUNDA. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE. WITH RESPECT TO NAMIBIA, KAUNDA SAID THAT IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT WE WERE ADDRESSING TWO OF THE THREE CONDITIONS WHICH SWAPO HAD O.A.E.T. THEY HAD AGREED TO TRANSFERRING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO GENEVA PROVIDING THE SOUTH AFRICANS CONDUCTED THE MEETING WITH THE CHIEFS AND OTHER QUOTE PUPPETS UNQUOTE ON THEIR SIDE WITH SWAPO AND THE NCC ON THE OTHER. THEIR SECOND CONDITION RELATED TO RELEASE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS. THEIR THIRD CONDITION, HOWEVER, FOR AN IMMEDIATE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES WOULD NOT BE MET BY THE PROPOSAL WE WERE PUTTING FORWARD.

2. KAUNDA SAID HE WOULD SEE NUJOMA THIS EVENING AND PROPOSED THAT WE MEET AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING BEFORE OUR DEPARTURE FOR KINSHASA SO THAT HE COULD TELL US WHETHER THE PROPOSAL HAD SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02160 252025Z

3. KAUNDA WELCOMED THE STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN TUESDAY, INDICATING THAT WE CONSIDERED THE WINDHOEK PROPOSAL DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH ON NAMIBIA.

4. WITH REGARD TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WE SAID WE THOUGHT THE IMPORTANT POINT WAS THE WILLINGNESS OF BOTH SIDES TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER IN A SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE SITUATION. SO LONG AS THEY ARE NOT TRYING TO SCORE PUBLICITY POINTS A MEANS COULD BE FOUND TO ORGANIZE THE CONFERENCE. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE VARIOUS PARTIES AT GENEVA COULD ENTERTAIN DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE MEETING. INGENUITY COULD CERTAINLY OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM.

5. ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY WITHDRAWAL WE SAID THAT THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER THIS WAS TO BE A PRECONDITION FOR GENEVA DISCUSSIONS, OR COULD BE AN ITEM FOR EARLY CONSIDERATION AT THE CONFERENCE. WE SAID THAT IN OUR VIEW IT WOULD BE A DIFFICULT PRECONDITION. WE HAD A GENERAL FEELING OF HOW FAR WE CAN PUSH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. IN OUR VIEW IT WOULD PROBABLY BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THEM TO ACCEPT WITHDRAWAL AS A PRECONDITION. THE ZAMBIANS SAID THAT THEY FELT THE POSSIBILITY OF SHORTENING THE TIME BEFORE INDEPENDENCE AND THE ASSURANCE THAT SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT INTEND MERELY TO TURN THE REINS OF POWER OVER TO WHAT THEY CALLED A PUPPET REGIME MIGHT GO A LONG WAY TO SATISFY SWAPO'S CONCERNS AND INDUCE IT NOT TO INSIST ON IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES BY THE SAG. THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE REAL. IT WOULD NOT DO MERELY TO TRANSFER SOME OF THEM FROM ROBIN ISLAND TO SOMEWHERE ELSE.

6. ON ZIMBABWE, KAUNDA NOTED THAT OUR PROPOSAL TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO WANTED TO STAY DIFFERED FROM THEIR PREVIOUS THINKING WHICH HAD BEEN TO NCOURAPI DEPARTURE. HE REACTED FAVORABLY TO THE IDEA OF A 12-18 MONTH INTERIM PERIOD WITH A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT INCLUDING ALL LIBERATION ELEMENTS. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE QUOTE THIRD FORCE UNQUOTE BE AMONG THEM. ACHIEVING THIS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE DIFFICULT. WE SAID WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE MUST BE AGREEMENT BY SMITH TO WITHDRAW IN FAVOR OF A NEW CARETAKER ADMINIS-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 02160 252025Z

TRATION WHICH WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN INTERIM REGIME WITH A BLACK MAJORITY UNDEPUTHE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE BRITISH. ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS, WE RECOGNIZE, WOULD BE OUR MAJOR CONTRIBUTION.

7. THE ZAMBIANS SUGGESTED THAT THE PROPOSALS MIGHT INCLUDE SOME WAY OF ENCOURAGING HARD-LINERS TO LEAVE. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THERE THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC ENCOURAGEMENT FOR ANYONE TO

LEAVE. HOWEVER, AN ASSURANCE PERMITTING SOME ASSETS TO BE REPATRIATED WOULD ACT AS AN EFFECTIVE INCENTIVE TO LEAVE FOR ANYONE BASICALLY OPPOSED TO THE DIRECTION OF EVENTS.

8. KAUNDA REPLIED ONLY IN A GENERAL WAY TO OUR QUESTIONS OF THE PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION AMONG THE ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION GROUPS. HE SAID HE HAD TRIED AND FAILED BEFORE BUT THAT THIS NEW PROGRESS WOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO GET TOGETHER AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT LOSE HOPE THAT THIS WAS POSSIBLE.

9. COMMENT: WE WERE PLEASED THAT PRESIDENT'S REACTION WAS FIRMLY POSITIVE THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS. AT MORE THAN ONE POINT IN THE CONVERSATION HE COMMENDED YOU FOR BRINGING THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO BEAR ON THESE TWO VITAL ISSUES AND AGREED THAT PROGRESS HAD INDEED BEEN MADE. WE WERE ALSO PLEASED THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO MOVE SO QUICKLY TO TEST THE SENTIMENTS OF SWAPO. WE WILL BE SEEING HIM TOMORROW, AS INDICATED, TO HEAR FROM HIM ON THIS AND TO CONFIRM QUITE DEFINITELY OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE EMBRACES THE PROPOSALS WE PUT TO HIM AND WILL UNDERTAKE TO CARRY OUT HIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THE EFFORT. WE PARTICULARLY STRESSED THE NEED TO MOVE RAPIDLY ON THIS AND HAVE A CLEAR-CUT RESPONSE FROM HIM AND FROM THE OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS WHOM WE WERE SEEING SO THAT THE NEXT STAGE OF THE PROCESS COULD BEGIN WITHIN A MATTER OF DAYS.

LOW

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SELFDETERMINATION, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 08/25/76  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LUSAKA02160  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840083-0744, N760006-0458  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760822/aaaaaset.tel  
**Line Count:** 141  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MEETING WITH KAUNDA IN LASAKA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, RH, WA, SF, ZA, SWAPO, (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID), (ROGERS, WILLIAM D), (SCHAUFLE, WILLIAM E JR)  
**To:** STATE SS SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006